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BEFORE THE GERMAN REICHSTAG

ON JANUARY 30, 1939

Members of the German Reichstag,

When six years ago on this evening tens of thousands of National Socialist fighters marched through the Brandenburg Gate to the light of their torches to express to me who had just been appointed Chancellor of the Reich, their feeling of overwhelming joy and their vows as faithful followers, countless anxious eyes all over Germany and in Berlin gazed upon the beginning of a development, the end of which still seemed unknown and unpredictable. Approximately thirteen million National Socialist voters then supported me. This was a tremendous number but still only a little over a third of all the votes cast. It is true that the other twenty million had been scattered and split up among approximately thirty-five other parties and little groups. The only thing that united them was their common hatred of our young movement, a hatred born of their guilty consciences and even worse intentions. As it still does today in other parts of the world, this united the priests of the centre party and communist atheists, the socialists out to abolish private property and capitalists whose interests were bound up with the stock exchange, conservatives who wished to preserve the State, and republicans whose aim was to destroy the Reich. During the long battle of National Socialism for the leadership of the country they had all come together in defense of their interests and had made common cause with Jewry. The bishop politicians of the various churches extended their hands over this union in benediction. These broken up frag-

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ments of the nation, united only in their negative aims, were now confronted by that third of German men and women of good faith who had undertaken to restore the German Nation and Reich in the face of opposition, both at home and abroad.

The complete picture of the extent of the collapse in that period is gradually fading away. One thing, however, remains unforgotten: it seemed that only a miracle in the twelfth hour could save Germany. We National Socialists believed in this miracle, our opponents ridiculed our belief in it. The idea of redeeming the nation from a decline extending over fifteen years simply by the power of a new idea seemed to the non-National Socialists fantastic nonsense. To the Jews and the other enemies of the State, however, it appeared to be the last flicker of the national power of resistance. And they felt that when it had disappeared, then they would be able to destroy not only Germany but all Europe as well.

Had the German Reich sunk into Bolshevik chaos it would at that very moment have plunged the whole of Western civilization into a crisis of inconceivable magnitude. Only islanders with the most limited vision can imagine that the Red Plague would have stopped of its own accord before the sacredness of the democratic idea or at the boundaries of disinterested states.

The rescue of Europe began at one end of the continent with Mussolini and Fascism. National Socialism continued this rescue in another part of Europe and at the present moment we are witnessing in still a third country the same drama of a brave triumph over the Jewish international attempt to destroy European civilization.

What are six years in the life of one man—much less in the life of the peoples? In such a short period of development one sees scarcely more than the symptoms of general stagnation, decline or progress. The six years which now lie behind us in Germany are, however, filled with the most tremendous events in all German history.

On January 30, 1933, I moved into the Wilhelmstrasse filled with the deepest anxiety for the future of my people. Today, six years later, I am able to speak before the first Reichstag of Greater Germany. We are, indeed, perhaps better able than other generations to realize the full meaning of those pious words: "What a change by the grace of God."

Six years sufficed to fulfill the dreams of centuries; one year to give to our people the enjoyment of that unity for which numerous generations had longed and striven in vain. As I today see you assembled before me as the representatives of our German people from all over the Reich, and know that among you are the newly elected men of the Ostmark and the Sudetenland, I am once more overwhelmed by the tremendous impressions of the events of a year which realized the dream of centuries.

How much blood has been shed in vain for this goal! How many million Germans have consciously or unconsciously trodden the bitter path to sudden or painful death for the sake of this ideal! How many others have been condemned to drag out behind the walls of fortresses and prisons lives which they would gladly have given for Greater Germany! How many hundreds of thousands have been scattered over the wide world by the endless stream of German emigration driven by misery and want! For many a year they

still think of their unfortunate homeland, but as generations go by they forget it. And now in a single year it has been possible to realize this dream.

This was not achieved without struggle in spite of what thoughtless bourgeois may think.

This year of German unification was preceded by nearly twenty years of fanatical struggle over a political idea. Hundreds of thousands, nay, millions devoted to this idea their entire selves and their physical and economic existence.

They readily endured mockery and scorn as well as years of shameful treatment, frightful abuse and almost unbearable terror. All over the country we lost innumerable dead and wounded. And in addition, this success was fought for and achieved by an unprecedented energy and by the power of brave decisions fanatically adhered to.

I would emphasize this because there is a danger that those very people who have made the smallest practical contribution to German unification will only too easily—noisy orators that they are—claim for themselves the credit of having created this Reich or look upon the entire events of the past year as a matter of course, a long overdue development which unfortunately was finally completed rather late by National Socialism.

I would emphasize with regard to these elements moreover that the carrying through to a successful completion of this year called for strong nerves which is the very last thing that these gentry have. They are the old eternal pessimists, skeptics and indifferent individuals whom we all know, who never adopted a positive attitude during the twenty years of our struggle, but who, now that victory has been won, feel

called upon to issue their critical commentaries as the chosen experts of the national rebirth.

I will now in a few sentences give you the facts of the historical events of the memorable year 1938: Among the 14 points which President Wilson promised Germany in the name of all the Allies as the basis on which a new world peace was to be established when Germany laid down her arms, was the fundamental principle of the self-determination of peoples.

The peoples were not simply to be transferred like chattels from one sovereignty to another by the arts of diplomacy, but in the name of the most sacred natural rights were to determine for themselves the course of their lives and their political existence. The proclamation of this principle might have been of fundamental importance. Actually during the following period the Allied Powers of the day also applied these theories when they could make them serve their own selfish purposes. Thus they refuse to return Germany's colonial possessions, alleging that it would be wrong to return the native inhabitants of the colonies to Germany against their will.

But of course in 1918 no one took the trouble to find out what their will was. But while the Allies thus upheld the right of self-determination for primitive negro tribes, they refused in 1918 to grant to a highly civilized nation like the Germans the rights of man which had previously been solemnly promised to them. Many millions of German citizens were torn from the Reich against their will or prevented from uniting with it. Indeed in sharpest contrast to the solemn promise of the right of self-determination,

the Peace Treaty of Versailles even forbade the union of the Germans of the Ostmark with the Reich at a moment when efforts were being made in Austria to give effect to the right of self-determination through plebiscites. All efforts to bring about a change in the situation through the normal method of reasonable revision had hitherto failed, and were bound to fail in the future. In view of the well-known attitude of the Versailles powers indeed all the articles dealing with revision in the covenant of the League of Nations had only a platonic significance.

I myself as a son of the Ostmark was filled with the sacred wish to solve this problem and thus lead my homeland back to the Reich. In January 1938, I finally resolved that in the course of that year, in one way or another, I would fight for and win the right of self-determination for the 6,500,000 Germans in Austria.

1) I invited Herr Schuschnigg, then Chancellor of Austria, to an interview at Berchtesgaden, and made it clear to him that the German Reich would no longer inactively tolerate any further oppression of these German comrades. I, therefore, suggested that he should approach a final solution of this problem by means of a reasonable and equitable agreement. I left no doubt in his mind that otherwise freedom, in accordance with the principles of the right of self-determination, would be forcibly obtained for those 6,500,000 Germans by other suitable means. The result was an agreement which permitted me to hope for a solution of this difficult problem by means of a general understanding.

2) In my Reichstag speech of February 22nd, I stated that the Reich could no longer be indifferent to the fate of the ten million Germans in Central Europe

who were separated from the motherland against their will. I stated that above all further oppression and mistreatment of these Germans would lead to the most energetic counter-measures.

A few days later, Herr Schuschnigg decided to violate in a glaring manner the agreement which he had entered into at Berchtesgaden. His idea was by means of a faked plebiscite to destroy the legal basis of the national right of self-determination and will of these 6,500,000 Germans. On the evening of Wednesday, March 9th, I learned of this intention through Schuschnigg's speech at Innsbruck. That night I ordered the mobilization of a certain number of infantry and mechanized divisions with orders to cross the frontier on Saturday, March 12th, at 8 a. m., in order to liberate the Ostmark. On the morning of Friday, March 11th, the mobilization of these army and SS units was completed. They took up their positions during the course of the day. Meanwhile in the afternoon due to the pressure of all the events and the rising of the citizens in the Ostmark, Schuschnigg resigned. On Friday night I was asked to order the German troops to march into Austria, in order to prevent grave internal disorders in that country. Toward 10 p. m. troops were already crossing the frontier at numerous points. At 6 a. m. the next morning the main body began to march in. They were greeted with tremendous enthusiasm by the population, which was thus at last free. On Saturday, March 13th, at Linz, through the two laws which are known to you, I decreed the incorporation of the Ostmark in the Reich and caused the members of the former Austrian army to swear allegiance to me as the commander-in-chief of the German forces. Two days

later, the first great military parade took place in Vienna. All this had happened with truly breathtaking rapidity. Our faith in the speed and efficiency of the new German forces was not disappointed. Our expectations were exceeded. The conviction of the great value of this excellent instrument had been confirmed in the course of a few days. The first election to the Greater German Reichstag which took place on April 10th, expressed the overwhelming approval of the German Nation. Approximately 99 per cent showed by their vote that they approved of what had been done.

A few weeks later, influenced by the international campaign of hate carried on by certain newspapers and individual politicians, Czechoslovakia began an intensified oppression of the Germans within her borders.

Close upon 3,500,000 of our fellow countrymen lived there in self-contained settlements which for the most part adjoined the boundaries of the Reich, together with the Germans who were driven out during the twenty odd years by the Czech reign of terror. This makes a total of over 4,000,000 persons who were retained in this State against their will and were ill-treated to a greater or less degree.

No world power with any sense of honor would have watched such a state of affairs permanently. The man responsible for this development, which gradually made Czechoslovakia the exponent of all hostile intentions directed against the Reich, was Dr. Benes, at that time President of the State. It was he who, at the suggestion and with the co-operation of certain foreign circles, carried through the Czech mobilization in May of last year which had the aim of

1. provoking the German Reich, and
2. lowering the international prestige of the Reich.

Despite a declaration twice given to the Czechoslovakian President, Mr. Benes, in my name that Germany had not mobilized a single soldier, despite the same assurances that it was possible to make to the representatives of foreign powers, the fiction was maintained and disseminated that Czechoslovakia for her part had been forced to mobilize in consequence of the German mobilization, and that Germany had thus had to counter-mand her own mobilization and to renounce her plans. Mr. Benes caused the version to be spread abroad that it was through his resolute measures that the German Reich had been kept in her proper place. But now, since Germany had neither mobilized nor had the slightest intention of attacking Czechoslovakia, this development had inevitably to lead to a serious loss of prestige for the Reich.

In view of this intolerable provocation, which was further intensified by a truly infamous persecution and terrorization of our fellow countrymen living in those territories, I therefore resolved to solve once for all, and this time radically, this Sudeten German question. On May 28th I ordered:

1. That preparations should be made for military action against this State by October 2nd,
2. That the construction of our western defenses should be greatly extended and speeded up.

For the purpose of settling with Mr. Benes and to protect the Reich against other attempts to influence or even to threaten it, the immediate mobilization of 96 divisions was planned to begin with, and arrangements were made whereby these could be supplemented in a short time by a larger number.

Developments late in the summer and the plight of the Germans in Czechoslovakia showed that these preparations were justified. The various stages of the final settlement of this problem are a matter of history. Once more the military preparations, which affected the whole of the services and some SS and SA units, as well as numerous police, as in the case of Austria, were completely successful. In the west, the mobilization of Dr. Todts organization headed by its brilliant leader, achieved, thanks to the devotion of all the officers, soldiers, labor service men and laborers who participated in that work, a unique result, which history in the past could never have believed possible.

If certain newspapers and politicians in the rest of the world now allege that Germany thus threatened other nations by military blackmail, it can only be as a result of crude distortion of the facts. Germany restored the right of self-determination to ten million of her fellow countrymen in a territory where neither the British nor any other Western Nation have any business. By so doing she threatened no one, she merely offered resistance to attempted interference by a third party.

And I need not assure you, Gentlemen, that in the future as well we shall not tolerate the Western States attempting to interfere in certain matters which concern nobody but ourselves in order to hinder natural and reasonable solutions by their intervention. We were all happy therefore when, thanks to the initiative of our good friend Benito Mussolini and thanks also to the highly appreciable readiness of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Daladier it became possible to find the elements of an agreement which not only allowed of the

peaceful settlement of a matter which admitted no further delay, but could moreover be looked upon as an example of the possibility of a general and sensible treatment and settlement of certain vital problems.

All the same we should not have achieved such agreement among the big powers in Europe without the firm determination to settle this problem one way or another. The Sudeten German people have for their part also had an opportunity of sanctioning the process of their incorporation into the Greater German Reich by an individual and free expression of their will. They expressed their consent with the same overwhelming majority that the election of the first Greater German Reichstag exhibited. We thus have before us today a representation of the German nation which can claim to be regarded as a truly constituent assembly.

It is not my intention, nor is it possible, in the course of this review to mention by name all those who by their co-operation have provided me with the theoretical and material basis for the success of the great work of unification. I must, however, mention that side by side with the impulsive and enthusiastic effectiveness of our old party member, Field Marshal Goering, in the spheres with which he has been entrusted, it is the judgment, as wise as it is bold, and the first-rate treatment of every single problem in foreign policy which he has been called upon to deal with, displayed by Herr von Ribbentrop, which in the important period that now lies behind us have been of such extraordinary assistance in the carrying-out of this my policy. This is my comment on the actual course of events during the historic year. However, it seems to me necessary today to declare before the

nation that 1938 was above all a year which saw the triumph of an idea. It was an idea which united a nation, in contrast to former centuries when one believed that such a task could only be entrusted to the sword. When the German soldiers marched into the Ostmark and into the Sudeten German territories, they were not only taking action against the oppressors of the people living there but were also bearers of the National Socialist Volksgemeinschaft, to which all these millions of Germans had for many a long year given their spiritual consent and allegiance. For years, despite all oppression, the Germans of the Ostmark and of the Sudeten territories had borne the flag of the National Socialist Reich as a symbol in their hearts. And this is the decisive distinction between the coming into being of Greater Germany and similar attempts made in the past centuries. In those days attempts were made to force the German tribes into one Reich. Today the German nation has overcome the enemies of the Reich. Barely eight months were required for one of the most noticeable changes in Europe. Formerly it was chiefly the alleged interests of the various tribes or states or the egotism of German princes which opposed every real union of the Reich. But this time, after the internal enemies of the Reich had been eliminated, it was the international profiteers from Germany's disunion who tried to interfere in the last resort. This time, therefore, it was no longer necessary to draw the sword in order to compel national unity, but only in order to protect the latter from enemies without. The young services of the Reich stood their first test on this occasion with signal success.

This unique event in the history of our nation re-

presents for you, Gentlemen, a sacred and everlasting obligation.

entire
You are not the deputies of a district or of a certain tribe, you are not the representatives of particular interests but you are first of all the chosen delegates of the whole great German nation. You are thus guarantors of that German Reich which National Socialism has made possible and created. You are therefore in duty bound to serve with the deepest loyalty the movement which paved the way for and realized the miracle of German history in the year 1938. In you must be incorporated in the most superlative form the virtues of the National Socialist Party, loyalty, comradeship, and obedience.

As we have trained these virtues in ourselves in our struggle for Germany, so they must remain for all time the inner directive force of the members of the Reichstag. It is then that the representative delegation of the German nation will be a confederate community of those who are actually helping to build the German State. The history of the last 30 years has taught us all one great lesson, namely, that the importance of nations in the world is proportionate to their strength at home. The number and value of a population determines the importance of the nation as a whole. But the final and decisive part played in the valuation of the real strength of a nation will always be found in the state of its internal order. That is, the organization of its national strength.

The German of today is no different from that of ten, twenty or thirty years ago. Since then, the number of Germans has not increased to any con-

siderable extent. Capabilities, genius and energy cannot be considered more plentiful than in former times. The one thing which has changed considerably is the way in which these values are utilized to the full by the manner of their organization, and thanks to the formation of a new method of the selection of leaders.

The German Nation, in former times, politically and socially disorganized as it was, had wasted the greater part of its inherent qualities in domestic strife which was as unfruitful as it was irrational.

What was known as democratic license in giving expression to opinions and instincts not only led to a development or liberation of particular values or forces, but also caused them to be foolishly wasted and finally paralyzed every person who might still possess real creative power.

National Socialism, in putting an end to this unprofitable warfare, released at the same time the powers within that had hitherto lain latent, allowing them full scope in representing the vital interests of the nation both in the sense of carrying out important tasks connected with the community in the Reich itself, and in securing the common necessities of life in the world outside. It is absurd to say that obedience and discipline are only necessary for soldiers and are of little significance for others in the lives of nations. The opposite is the case. A community, disciplined and obligated to obey, is able to mobilize forces which facilitate the assertion of the existence of nations and consequently represent the interests of all with great success. A community such as this, however, cannot primarily be created by the power of the compulsion, but only by the compelling power of an idea, that is, by the strenuous exertions of constant education. Na-

tional Socialism aims at the establishment of a real national community. Such a conception would appear to be a very distant ideal. This, however, must not be termed a misfortune. Rather the contrary. It is precisely the beauty of this ideal which compels men to go on working and consequently to strive after it undauntedly. This is the difference between the party programs of a vanished past and the ultimate aim of National Socialism. They contained variously formulated conceptions or aims of an economic, political or denominational character. They were, however, only applicable to their own age, and consequently, limited. National Socialism, on the other hand, has set itself an aim in its community of the nation which can only be attained and held by continuous and constant education. Whereas the work of former political parties exhausted itself for the most part in dealing with questions and matters of the day that were mainly concerned with the State or economic affairs when most of the discussions took place in Parliament, the National Socialist movement on the other hand, has its work to do, boldly and resolutely among the people itself. The practical evaluation of this work, however, is not proceeded with in the Reichstag but in every sphere of political life, both domestic and foreign. It is the community of the nation which is the determining value and consequently the all-powerful factor which the leaders of the state are enabled to make use of in forming their decisions. The importance of these facts overrules the singular lack of understanding shown in particular by the former representatives of bourgeois parties for aims such as these.

There are people who even in the face of stu-

pendous and overwhelming happenings are utterly incapable of reflection, much less, emotion. Such people possess no inward spark of life and are worthless to any community. They are not makers of history, nor is it possible to make history with them. What with their stupidity or blase decadence they are but useless and spoilt pieces of nature's work. They find their own gratification or satisfaction in the thought of an exalted frame of mind, that is to say in ignorance, which in consequence of their would be cleverness or wisdom, they deem, raises them to a plane above the happenings of their age. It is quite conceivable that a nation should not possess only one such fool and yet be capable of sublime acts and deeds.

It is, however, impossible to imagine a nation or even to govern one which consists for the most part of such fools instead of being composed of pure-blooded, idealistic, trustful and loyally enthusiastic men and women. Such people are the only valuable elements in a national community. They may be forgiven for a thousand weaknesses if only they possess the strength to give—if need be—even their lives for an ideal or a conception.

And so, in the presence of you all, gentlemen, I can but reiterate the urgent request which I have voiced in thousands and thousands of national gatherings. Look upon the creation and strengthening of the National Socialist community as the means of preserving the Reich. This in itself will cause you to achieve really practical results in numerous domains of work. Thus alone will it be possible effectively to utilize the services of hundreds and thousands and millions of vigorous characters in our na-

tion whose ordinary citizens' lives spent in business can never give them adequate satisfaction. The organization of the National Socialist Community requires millions of active members. To find and choose them means helping in that stupendous process of selection which makes it possible for us to discover men of outstanding gifts to be our representatives and to perform the work of the State. Men prominent because of their own merit, not merely schoolbread. This is decisive, not only for the nation but for the administration of the state. For among the millions that make up the mass of the nation there exist sufficient talents eminently suitable for filling every position. This is the best guaranty for the safety of state and people in the face of the revolutionary ideas of individuals and the disruptive tendencies of the time.

Danger comes only from those who are overlooked but are at bottom creative geniuses, never from petty critics with their negative objections or from grumblers. There is neither idealism nor energy in such people, to spur them on to achieve something demanding energy. Rarely does their spirit of opposition and ill-will attain more than writing pamphlets and newspaper articles or letting itself go in oratorical excesses. Throughout the ages the real revolutionaries familiar to the world have always been those who desired leadership but who lacked opportunity or belonged to an arrogant, vitiated and exclusive class of society. Thus it is in the interests of a State by means of a careful selection to make investigations again and yet again in order to find what talents exist in the nation and how they may best be used.

The first essential in this direction is the powerful organization of a living national community. For it

allots the most comprehensive tasks and demands work of a permanent and manifold nature. Just think of the enormous amount of educational work, that is leadership work, that is necessary in an organization like that of the Labor Front. Gentlemen, we are faced with further enormous and stupendous tasks. A new history of the leadership of our nation must be constructed. Its composition is dependent on race.

It is, however, just as necessary to demand and make sure through the system and method of our education that above all, bravery and readiness to accept responsibility, should be regarded as essential qualities in those about to assume public office of any kind. When appointing men to leading positions in the State and Party, greater value should be placed on character than on purely academic or allegedly intellectual suitability. It is not abstract knowledge which must be considered a decisive factor, wherever a leader is required, but rather a natural talent for leadership and with it a highly developed sense of responsibility which brings with it determination, courage and endurance.

It must be recognized in principle that the lack of a sense of responsibility can never be made up for by its supposedly first class academic training of which certificates may supply the proof. Knowledge and the qualities of leadership, which always imply energy are not incompatible. But in doubtful cases knowledge can in no circumstances be a substitute for integrity, courage, bravery and determination. These are the qualities that are more important in a leader of the people in State and Party. And I say this to you now, Gentlemen, looking back on the one year of German history which has shown me more clearly than

the whole of my previous life, how vital and essential these very qualities are; and how in a time of crisis, one single energetic man of action outweighs a thousand feeble intellectuals.

But as a factor in society this new type, selected as embodying the qualities of leadership, must also be freed from numerous prejudices, which I can really only describe as an untruthful and fundamentally nonsensical code of social morals. There is no attitude which cannot find its ultimate justification in the benefit which it brings to the community as a whole. Anything that is obviously unimportant or even harmful to the existence of the community is not to be recognized as a moral code on which a social order can be built up. And most important of all, a national community is possible only when laws are recognized which are binding for all. It will not do to expect or demand that one man should act in accordance with principles which in the eyes of the others are absurd or harmful or even just unimportant. I fail to appreciate the efforts of social classes which are dying out to cut themselves off from real life and keep themselves artificially alive behind a hedge of dry outlived class laws.

So long as the idea is only to secure a peaceful burial place there is no objection. But if this is an attempt to place a barrier in the way of life's progressive march, then the stormwind of youth will clear away the whole tangled growth in its onward sweep.

In the German State of today, the people's State, there are no social prejudices, and consequently there is no special social code of morals. This State recognizes only the laws of life and the necessities at which man has arrived through reason and insight. National

Socialism recognizes these laws and necessities, and it is one of the concerns of National Socialism to have them respected.

In speaking to you thus, Gentlemen, I want to bring home to you once more on this solemn day the sense of your duty, as fighters for the National Socialist movement. To do your share towards attainment of the great aims of our philosophy which are also the aims of the struggle of our people. For your position here is not that of elected members of Parliament, but you are here as National Socialist fighters, whom the movement itself has presented to the German people. Your function consists in the main in the forming of the nation and in the moulding of the community, in educating the nation and to think along genuinely national and socialist lines.

It is for this reason that the German people has chosen both me and you. The laws of our movement are binding for us, in whatever position we may find ourselves. But for this very reason we have more right to represent the German Nation than those parliamentarians of democratic ancestry whom we knew in Germany in former days who obtained their authorization by paying a more or less high premium. When now after six years in which the leadership of the German people and the Reich has been in my hands, I look towards the future, I must give expression to the deep sense of confidence and trust that inspire me. The solidarity of the German Nation of which you, Gentlemen, in the first place are and will continue to be the guarantors, makes me certain that whatever tasks our people have to face, the National Socialist State will sooner or later find a solution. Whatever sort of difficulties there may be ahead of us,

the energy and the courage of the leaders will overcome them. Just as I am convinced that the German people having learned the unique, historic lesson of past years, will follow those leaders with supreme determination.

Gentlemen, we live in an age when the air is full of the cries of Democratic defenders of morals and world reformers. Judging from the statements of these apostles, one might almost conclude that the whole world is only waiting its chance to redeem the German Nation from its unhappy plight, to lead it back to the blessed State of cosmopolitan brotherhood and mutual assistance in international affairs, which we Germans were so thoroughly able to test during the fifteen years before the National Socialist assumption of power. Speeches and newspapers in these democracies tell us every day about the difficulties with which we Germans are faced. One difference is to be noted between the speeches of the statesmen and the leading articles of their journalists.

The statesmen either pity us or else unctuously praise the tried recipes—which unfortunately, however, do not seem to be so successful in their own countries; the journalists on the other hand give expression to their true sentiments somewhat more candidly. They inform us confidently and with a feeling of malicious pleasure that we are either suffering a famine or that one is—God willing—about to descend upon us, that we are facing ruin as the result of a financial crisis, or else a production crisis, or—if even that should not come to pass—a consumption crisis. The only thing is that the sagacity of these democratic

world economic scholars, of which we have so much concrete proof, does not always produce a quite uniform diagnosis.

During the past week alone in view of the increased concentration of German self-assertiveness one could read at the same time:

1. that although Germany had a surplus of production, she would succumb as a result of the lack of consumption power;

2. that although there was a huge consumers' demand, the shortage of production goods alone would bring the country to ruin;

3. that we should certainly collapse under the terrific burden of our debts;

4. that we wanted no debts, but by National Socialist policy in this field too we were acting contrary to the last sacred capitalist ideas, and consequently—please God—would ruin ourselves;

5. that the German people were in revolt on account of the low standard of living;

6. that the State could no longer maintain the high standard of living of the German people—and so on.

All these and many similar theses of these democratic world economic dogmatists had their forerunners in countless statements made during the period of the National Socialist struggle, and in particular during the last six years. In all these laments and prophecies there is only one sincere strain, and that is the single honest democratic wish that the German people and particularly the National Socialist Germany of today should finally perish.

One thing, admittedly, the German people, more especially we ourselves, do realize, and that is: that Germany has undoubtedly always been in a very diffi-

cult position economically. In fact since 1918 many people have considered her position hopeless. But whereas in a period following 1918, one simply gave in in the face of these difficulties, or relied on the rest of the world, only to be disappointed, National Socialism has broken with this system of cowardly surrender to an apparently inevitable fate, and has summoned up the instinct of self-preservation in the nation. Not only did this instinct set to work with extraordinary determination, but—as I surely made plain today—it also met with extraordinary success, so that I can say two things: first, that we really are engaged in a tremendous struggle, making use of every ounce of the united strength and energy of our people, and, second, that we shall win this struggle completely—in fact, we have already won it!

What is the root cause of all our economic difficulties? It is the over-population of our territory. And in this connection there is only one fact and one question which I can hold up to the critics in the Western and in the extra-European democracies. The fact is this: In Germany there are 135 people to the square kilometre, living entirely without external assistance and without their former reserve; for 15 years a prey to all the rest of the world, burdened with tremendous debts, without colonies, the German people are nevertheless fed and clothed, and, moreover, there are no unemployed among them.

While the question is this: Which of the so-called great democracies is capable of performing this same feat? If we choose particular methods, the reason was simply that we were forced into particular circumstances. And in fact, our position was so difficult that there can be no possible comparison with the position

of the other great States. There are countries in the world where instead of 135 people to the square kilometre, as there are in Germany, there are only between 5 and 11, where vast stretches of fertile land lie fallow, where all imaginable minerals are available. There are countries which have all this and the natural wealth of coal, iron, and ore and yet are not even capable of solving their own social problems, of doing away with unemployment or overcoming their other difficulties.

And now the representatives of these states swear by the wonderful qualities of their democracy. They are quite at liberty to do so as far as they are concerned. But as long as we still had an offshoot of this democracy in Germany, we had seven million unemployed; trade and industry were faced with absolute ruin in town and country, and society was on the point of revolution.

Now we have solved these problems in spite of our difficulties, and for this we have our regime and our internal organization to thank. The representatives of foreign democracies marvel that we now take the liberty of maintaining that our regime is better than the former one; above all they marvel that the German people acquiesces in the present regime and rejects the former. But after all does not a regime which has the support of 99% of the people represent quite a different kind of democracy from the patent solution which in some countries is possible only with the help of extremely doubtful methods of influencing election results? And above all, what is the meaning of this attempt to foist something onto us which—in so far as it is a question of government by the people—we already possess in a much clearer and better form.

But as for the method that is so much recommended, it has proved absolutely useless in our country. In those other countries it is maintained that collaboration should be possible between democracies and what they term dictatorships. And what might that mean? The question of the form of government or of the organization of the national community is not a subject for international debate at all. It is a matter of absolute indifference to us in Germany what form of government other nations have. At the most it is a matter of indifference to us whether National Socialism—which is our copyright, just as Fascism is the Italian one—is exported or not. We are not in the least interested in this ourselves. We see no advantage in making shipments of National Socialism as an idea, nor do we feel that we have any occasion to make war on other peoples because they are democrats. The assertion that National Socialist Germany will soon attack and dismember North or South America, Australia, China or even the Netherlands, because different systems of government are in control in these places, is on the same plane as the statement that we intend to follow it up with an immediate occupation of the full moon.

Our State and our people exist under very difficult economic conditions. The regime which preceded us capitulated before the difficulty of this task, and was unable, by reason of its very character, to fight against the odds which confronted it. For National Socialism the word capitulation does not exist either in home or in foreign affairs. National Socialism is inspired by the dogged determination to attack problems which must be solved, and solve them one way or the other. Because of our circumstances, we are forced to com-

pensate for our lack of material possessions by the greatest possible industry and the most intense concentration of our working power. Those who can lie under a banana tree and eat the fruit as it falls into their hands have, of course, an easier struggle for existence than the German peasant, who must exert himself throughout the whole year in order to cultivate his field. In this connection we refuse to admit that a carefree international banana-picker has any right to criticize the activities of the German peasant.

If certain methods of our economic policy appear injurious to the rest of the world, it should recognize that a hatred on the part of the former victor states, which was irrational and purposeless from an economic point of view, was chiefly responsible for making these methods necessary. On this occasion again, as so often before, I wish to make clear in a few words to you, gentlemen, and thus to the entire German people, an existing situation which we must either accept or alter.

Before the war Germany was a flourishing economic power. She participated in international trade and observed the economic laws which had general validity at that time, as well as the methods of that trade. I need say nothing here with regard to the compulsion to participate in this trade activity, since it is presumptuous to assume that God created the world only for one or two peoples. Every people has the right to ensure its existence on this earth. The German people is one of the oldest civilized peoples of Europe. Its contribution to civilization is not based on a few phrases of politicians but on immortal achievements which have been of positive benefit to the world. It has exactly the same right as any other people to

share in the opening up and development of the world. Nevertheless, even in pre-war years, English circles upheld the idea—which was utterly childish from an economic point of view—that the destruction of Germany would tremendously increase British profits from trade. In addition, there was the further fact that even then the Germany of that day was believed to be, in the final analysis, a not entirely amenable factor with regard to the domination of the world which the Jews were attempting to establish. Consequently, from this side all available means were utilized to incite to an attack upon Germany. The war in which Germany found herself involved purely as a result of a mistaken interpretation of loyalty to an ally, ended after over 4 years with that fantastic proclamation of the famous American President Wilson.

These Fourteen Points which were then supplemented by four additional ones represent the solemn commitments of the Allied Powers, on the basis of which Germany laid down her arms. After the Armistice these undertakings were broken in the most infamous manner. There then began the insane efforts of the victor states to transform the sufferings of the war into a permanent state of warfare during times of peace.

If for the most part an end has been put to this condition today, this has not happened because the democratic statesmen have displayed insight or even merely a sense of equity, but solely through the strength of the re-awakened German Nation. It is in any case a fact that at the end of the war any rational consideration would have shown that no state had visibly profited. The clever British writers of economic articles, who had formerly written that the de-

struction of Germany would increase the wealth of every individual Englishman and benefit the welfare of their country, were forced—at least for a certain period when reality too clearly showed the untruth of their statements—to remain silent. Similar brilliant discoveries have begun to crop up again in the speeches of British politicians and the leading articles of the same type of newspaper writers during the past few months. What was the war fought for? In order to destroy German sea power which then occupied second place?

The result in any case was that now two other States have stepped in, one occupying a better position than Germany held, and the other taking Germany's place. Or was it with the object of destroying Germany's trade? The destruction of German trade has injured England at least as much as it has Germany. England and the English have not become richer. Or was it to eliminate the German Reich for some other reason? The German Reich is today stronger than ever before. Or was it perhaps to strengthen the position of Western democracy in the world? In large parts of the world the earlier edition of this democracy has been withdrawn from circulation and destroyed.)

From the shores of the Pacific ocean in the Far East to the waters of the North Sea and the coasts of the Mediterranean, other forms of government are spreading with great rapidity. Any benefit one can possibly imagine from this war has been completely cancelled, not merely by the tremendous sacrifices of human lives and goods but also by the continuing burden on all production, and above all on the budgets of the states.

This, however, was a fact which was evident and could

be seen immediately after the war. If it had been taken into consideration, the peace treaties would certainly have been drawn up on a different basis.

For example, a proof for all time to come of an extraordinarily limited insight in judging economic possibilities was furnished by the sums proposed in the years 1919 and 1920 as possible reparation payments. They are so far beyond the bounds of any economic reason that one can only assume a general desire for world destruction as the sole intelligible cause for this procedure, which otherwise can only be characterized as insanity.

For the situation was as follows:

First, the war was waged to exclude Germany from world trade. Consequently, in accordance with this aim of the war the conclusion of peace should have transformed Germany into an autarchy, that is, the other states, which felt themselves threatened by German world trade, should at the end of the war have placed at the disposal of the German people an area suited to a self-sufficient existence, requiring the German people to live from this area and to have no further economic contacts with the rest of the world. This was not done. Instead, a world war was waged to exclude Germany from world trade. This was the only genuine motive of the belligerents of that period. And then there was imposed upon the defeated State a burden of international reparations, which could only be paid through actually doubling its activity on the world market.

But this was not all: In order to prevent or hamper any autarchic activity by Germany, the Reich was even deprived of its own colonial possessions, which had been acquired by purchases and treaty. This

means that the strongest people of Central Europe was forced through a series of truly brilliant manoeuvres to work much harder than before as an exporting nation regardless of cost. For German exports had to be large enough not only to satisfy German requirements, but also to provide additional, insanely high reparations, which, of course, meant that in order to pay one mark, three or four marks worth of goods had to be exported, since in the long run these gigantic sums could only be paid from profits and not from capital. Since Germany was not in a position to fulfill these obligations the Victor Nations, by means of loans, subsidized German trade competition on the world market, after ten or twelve million men had given their lives on the battlefields to eliminate Germany, the trade enemy from the world market.

I will only mention parenthetically that this insane procedure finally led to exaggerated developments and in the end upset all national economics and caused serious currency crises. The entire conduct of the so-called victor powers after the end of the war was completely irrational and irresponsible.

The theft of the German colonies was morally an injustice. Economically, it was utter insanity! The political motives advanced were so mean that one is tempted merely to call them silly. In 1918, after the end of the war the victorious powers really would have had the authority to bring about a reasonable settlement of international problems. The lack of such a settlement cannot be excused by the fact that feeling was running too high to allow the nations to listen to the voices of sensible statesmen. Nor would this be exactly to the credit of the democracies. The statesmen themselves had no idea of what they were

doing and of the consequences which were bound to follow.

In actual fact the problem at the end of the war had become still more critical than it was before the war. Quite briefly, the problem was as follows: How can a just and sensible share in the world's wealth be assured to all great nations? For surely no one can seriously assume that, as in the case of Germany, a mass of 80,000,000 intelligent persons can be permanently condemned as pariahs, or be forced to remain passive forever by having some ridiculous legal titles, based solely on former acts of force, held up before them. And this is true not only of Germany but of all nations in a similar position, for it is quite clear that either the wealth of the world is divided by force, in which case this division will be corrected from time to time by force, or else the division is based on grounds of equity and therefore also of common sense, in which case equity and common sense must also really serve the cause of justice and ultimately of expediency.

But to assume that God has permitted some nations first to acquire a world by force and then to defend this robbery with moralizing theories is perhaps comforting and above all comfortable for the "haves", but for the "havenots" it is just as unimportant as it is uninteresting and lays no obligation upon them. Nor is the problem solved by the fact that a most important statesman simply declares with a scornful grin that there are nations which are "haves" and that the others on that account must always be "havenots". This profound truth may perhaps function as a principle for the solution of social questions inside the capitalistic democracies. But the states which are really ruled by their peoples reject such theories in

their home as well as in their foreign policy. No nation is born to be a "havenot" and no nation is born to be a "have", but the distribution of wealth in the world has been the result of historical development. It is conceivable that in the course of long periods of time nations in consequence of inner crises may seem to disappear temporarily from the arena of historical events, but to imagine that in Europe a nation like the German or the Italian should disappear for ever from the stage on which it had appeared as an equal partner in history, and as an active as well as a passive force for civilization, is a profound fallacy.

As far as Germany is concerned, the situation is very simple. The Reich has 80,000,000 inhabitants, that means over 135 persons to the square kilometre. The great German colonial possessions, which the Reich once acquired peacefully by treaties and by paying for them, have been stolen—contrary indeed to the solemn assurance given by President Wilson, which was the basic condition on which Germany laid down her arms. The objection that these colonial possessions are of no importance in any case, should only lead to their being returned to us with an easy mind. But the objection that this is not possible, because Germany would not know what to do with them, since she did not do anything with them before, is ridiculous. Germany who was late in acquiring her colonial possessions, was able to develop them in a relatively short time, and before the war was not faced by the same acute needs as today. This objection is consequently just as foolish as if anybody were to question a nation's capacity to build a railway because it had no railway a hundred years ago. The further objection that her colonial possessions cannot be returned to

her because Germany would thus acquire a strategic position is a monstrous attempt to deny general rights to a nation and a people a priori. For this can be the only reason: Germany was in any case the only state which set up no colonial army since she trusted to the terms of the Congo Act which were afterwards broken by the Allies. Germany does not require her colonial possessions at all in order to set up armies there—she has a sufficiently large population for this purpose at home—but to relieve her economic difficulties. But even if this be not believed, it is wholly immaterial and in no way affects our rights. Such an objection would only be justified if the rest of the world wished to give up its military bases and were only forced to maintain them if Germany were to be given back her colonies. The fact remains that a nation of 80,000,000 will not be willing permanently to be assessed differently from other nations. The fallacy and poverty of these arguments clearly show that at bottom it is only a question of power, in which common sense and justice receive no consideration. From the common sense point of view, the very reasons which could once be advanced against taking Germany's colonies from her, can be used today for their return. As she lacks a sphere of economic development for herself, Germany is forced to satisfy her own requirements by an increasing participation in world trade and in an exchange of goods. For on one point those very nations must be agreed, which themselves have immense economic possibilities at their disposal, either because they themselves occupy a large territory or because they have great additional colonial possessions—namely, that the economic existence of a nation cannot be maintained without a sufficient

supply of foodstuffs or without certain indispensable raw materials.

If both are lacking, a nation is forced to participate in world trade under all circumstances and perhaps to an extent which may even be undesirable to other countries. Only a few years ago, when conditions forced Germany to adopt her Four Year Plan, we could to our great astonishment hear from the lips of British politicians and statesmen the reproach (which at that time sounded so sincere) that Germany was withdrawing from the sphere of international economics, even from world economy contacts, and was thus retiring into regrettable isolation. I replied to Mr. Eden that this apprehension was perhaps a little exaggerated and, if it was meant at all sincerely, was not admissible. Conditions today make it quite impossible for Germany to withdraw from world trade. They simply compel us by the mere force of necessity to participate in it under all circumstances, even when the form of our participation perhaps does not suit one country or another. In this connection I must add that the reproach that world trade is declining through the German methods of a mutual exchange of goods can, if it is correct at all, only be addressed to those who are to blame for this development, and they are the States with an international capitalist outlook, who by their currency manipulations have arbitrarily destroyed every fixed relationship between individual currencies as it suited their own egoistic needs. (But under these circumstances the German system of exchanging for every piece of honest work an equally honest piece of work, is a more decent practice than payment in foreign currency which a year later will be devalued by so and so much percent.)

Extremely reasonable

If certain countries combat the German system this is done in the first instance because through this German method of trading the tricks of international currency and bourse speculations have been abolished in favor of honest business transactions. Germany moreover does not force her trading methods upon anybody else but neither does she let any parliamentary democrat lecture her on the principles on which she shall or may act.

We are buyers of good foodstuffs and raw materials and suppliers of equally good commodities. It is clear that everything which an economic system cannot produce in the territory in which its own currency circulates, can only be imported as additional commodities by an increased turnover in exports. But since, as I have already emphasized, a nation which has insufficient freedom of movement economically is imperatively forced to import foreign raw materials and foodstuffs, its economic system by doing so is acting under the most imperious force which exists, namely, the force of necessity. By trying to satisfy a large part of her requirements in her economic domain, which has been developed by the Four-Year-Plan, the German Nation is freeing foreign markets from German competition. What cannot be solved satisfactorily from the economic point of view with the resources which are actually at our disposal today, must find its solution through our participation in world trade.

German economic policy is subjugated to necessities of such a severity that no sort of threat with capitalistic weapons can restrain us from this course, because, as emphasized already the power which impels us does not lie in the desire for profits of a few capitalists, but rather in the exigent situation of our whole

people, a situation forced on us for no good reason through somebody else's fault, and it is completely immaterial what regime attends to the interests of the German Nation, all that matters is that they are attended to.

That is to say, no other regime could ignore the present economic necessities. It would have to follow exactly the same course as the present regime unless in neglect of its duties it chose to expose a great nation to ruin, not only economically, but also culturally. The effects of the reparations policy have cured the German people not only of a number of illusions, but of numerous economic ideologies and financial dogmas that border on sanctity. If ever need makes humans see clearly, it has made the German people do so. Under the compulsion of this need we have learned, in the first place, to take full account of the most essential capital of a nation, namely of its capacity to work. All thoughts of a gold reserve and foreign exchange fade before the industry and efficiency of well planned national productive resources. We can smile today at an age when economists were seriously of the opinion that the value of currency was determined by the reserves in gold and foreign exchange lying in the vaults of the National Banks, and, above all, was guaranteed by them. Instead of that we have learned to realize that the value of a currency lies in a nation's power of production, that an increasing volume of production sustains a currency, and could possibly raise its value, whereas a decreasing production must, sooner or later lead to a compulsory devaluation. And at a time when the financial and economic prophets in other countries were predicting our collapse every three or six months, the National Socialist State was

able by increasing production to the utmost, to stabilize its currency. A natural ratio was established between expanding production and money in circulation. Stable prices, which were maintained at all cost, were rendered possible only by stable wages. And what has been distributed in Germany in the last six years in the way of increasing national income, is in proportion to the increased production, that is, to the increased amount of work done. Thus it has become possible, not only to allow these seven million unemployed to earn wages, but to assure to their higher income, a stable purchasing power, that is to say, to every mark paid out to them, there corresponds immediately in the same ratio an increase of value in our national production.

In other countries the reverse method has been adopted. Production is decreased, the national income is raised by raising wages, the purchasing power of their money thereby sinking till they finally end up by devaluing their currency. I admit the German course is apt to be less popular because it means nothing less than that every rise in wages must necessarily come from an increase in production, that production thus is primary, and increase in wages secondary, or in other words, the absorption of seven million unemployed into trade and industry is, or was, not chiefly a wage problem, but purely and simply one of production. But it is not till the last labor resources in Germany are utilized that the further increase in the total amount of work done, whether through more intensive work or a greater degree of rationalization of technical processes, will lead to a more extensive participation of the individual in the increased consumption and in that way to a practical

increase in wages.

We are, however, all sure of one thing, Gentlemen, that in one respect such an increase in our production cannot take place, viz. in respect of our food supply. What the German farmer manages to produce from the German soil is astounding and hardly believable. He deserves our highest thanks. At one point, however, nature sets the limit to any further intensification of effort. That means, if some change does not take place, that German consumption power would find its natural limitation in the maximum of production of food supplies. The situation which would then arise could only be overcome in two ways: First by means of additional imports of food stuffs and an increased export of German products which would necessitate the importation of at least some of the raw materials necessary for their manufacture, with the result that only a proportion of import proceeds would be available for the purchase of foodstuffs. Or secondly, the extension of our nation's "Lebensraum", so that in our domestic economy the problem of Germany's food supplies can be solved. As the second solution is for the time being not yet feasible, by reason of the continued blindness of the one time victorious powers, we are forced to occupy ourselves with the first, in other words, we have to export in order to buy foodstuffs, and moreover, as these exports require raw materials, all of which we do not possess, we are forced to export still more in order to assure ourselves of these extra raw materials.

This necessity is consequently not of a capitalistic kind, as perhaps may be the case in other countries, but arises out of the uttermost need a nation can meet with, namely, the need for its daily bread, and when

in this matter statesmen of other countries threatened us with I do not know what kind of economic counter-measures, I can only give the assurance that in such a case a desperate economic struggle would ensue, which would be easy for us to carry out, easier for us than for the ever-satiated nations because our leading idea would be a very simple one: the German Nation must live (that means export) or die, and I assure all the international skeptics that the German Nation will not die, least of all for this reason, but that it will live. If need be, it will place all the production resources of our new National Socialist Community at the disposal of its leaders to begin such a struggle and to see it through. As for the leaders themselves, I can give the assurance that they are prepared to do their utmost. An ultimate solution of this problem in a reasonable fashion, however, will not be possible until human reason be victorious over the greed of some nations, that is, until the fact be grasped that to persist in such an injustice is economically as well as politically of no advantage, and that to do so is, indeed, insane.

How economically unreasonable the effects of such stubborn intolerance can be, can be ascertained from the following: In 1918 the war was over, in 1919 the colonies were taken away from Germany. They are of no economic value whatsoever to their new possessors. They can be neither opened up nor intensively exploited. This confiscation forms, however, part of the discrimination contained in the 447 articles of the Versailles Dictate against a great people of 80,000,000. The others resolved at that time to make life on an equal footing with the other nations impossible for Germany in the future. And what was the consequent

effect of this policy of hatred? Economically, the destruction of any reasonable re-establishment of world trade, militarily the maintenance of the inferiority of the conquered nations in armaments, which sooner or later had to lead to a forceful liberation. And then in 1933, and 1934 I made one offer after another to set reasonable limits to armaments. They were coldly rejected, as was the claim for the return of the stolen German colonial possessions.

If these gifted statesmen and politicians in the other countries draw up an account of the net profits which have accrued to them from the military and colonial inequality and therefore the general legal inequality for which they have so persistently contended, then they will perhaps hardly be able to contest that they have already paid far too much for their supposed military superiority, and the wonderful colonial possessions they took from Germany. Economically, it would have been wiser to have reached a reasonable and prudent agreement with Germany in regard to the colonies and European politics, rather than to have taken a course, which perhaps yields enormous dividends to the international armament profiteers, but at the same time forces the gravest burdens on the nations. I estimate that the three million square kilometres of German colonial possessions which have fallen to England and France, together with the refusal to accept Germany on a basis of political and military equality, will in a short time have cost England alone 20,000,000,000 gold marks, and I am afraid that in the not too distant future this sum will increase at an even greater rate, with the result that, so far from yielding golden profits, the former German colonies cost a great deal. The objection could

be raised that this would also apply to Germany. Granted. It is no great pleasure for us either. There is one difference between us: We are struggling for a vital right, without which we cannot in the long run live, whereas the others are struggling to uphold an injustice which is only a burden to them and yields no profit whatsoever.

Under the present circumstances the only way open to us is to continue our economic policy of trying to produce the uttermost from the territory at our disposal. This compels us to intensify our efforts in all branches, in order to expand production. This in turn forces us to carry out the Four Year Plan more resolutely than ever, which means we must further utilize our labor resources, and here we are approaching a new period in Germany's economic policy.

During the first six years since the assumption of power, it has been the goal of our economic policy to direct idle labor resources into useful occupations. It is the task and aim of the coming years to review all the resources of working capacity we have, to plan their organization by means of rationalization, and to achieve all by better technical organization of the conditions of work with the same effort to obtain better results, and in that way to save ability and energy for the new supplementary branches of production.

This in turn forces us to open the capital market to a greater degree for the purpose of technical development of our enterprises, and conversely, to relieve it from calls made by the state. To this end, trade and industry and finance must necessarily be more closely concentrated. In this connection, I am resolved to complete the transformation of the Reichsbank, begun

on January 30, 1937, of changing it from a bank under international influence to a purely German bank of issue. If some other countries complain that thereby another German undertaking would lose its international features and characteristics, then we can only reply that we are absolutely determined that every institution in our national life shall have primarily German, that is, National Socialist features. And this should be an indication to the rest of the world of how wrong it is to reproach us with wanting to foist German ideas onto other countries, and how much more justified National Socialist Germany would be in complaining that the other countries still try incessantly to force their views on us.

Today, Gentlemen, I regard it as a duty of every German to understand the economic policy which the Reich Government is pursuing, and to give every possible support thereto, above all to remember, both in town and country, that it has its foundation not in some financial theory or other, but in a very simple realization of the function of production, that is, in an understanding of the fact that it is the amount of goods produced that is decisive.

The fact that we have other supplementary problems to face, that we are obliged to employ a large percentage of our national labor power for national armaments, which are not in themselves productive, is to be regretted, but cannot be helped.

Ultimately, the economic structure of present day Germany is bound up, for better or for worse, with the foreign political security of the state. It is better to realize this in good time, and therefore I regard it as the supreme duty of the National Socialist Government to do everything within human power to

strengthen our national defences. I rely here on the understanding of the German people and above all on its powers of recollection. For the period in which Germany was defenseless was not one in which we enjoyed any particular equality of rights, whether internationally, politically, or economically. It was rather one marked by the most humiliating treatment ever meted out to a great nation, and by direst extortion. We have no reason to assume that if at any time in the future, Germany were to suffer a second fit of weakness, her fate would be different. On the contrary, some of those very men who once hurled the firebrand of war into the world are still at work today as driving forces or driven instruments for the stirring up of the peoples, endeavoring to heap up enmities and so prepare the way for a new outbreak of strife.

You in particular, Gentlemen, should bear one thing in mind: In certain democracies it is apparently one of the special prerogatives of politico-democratic life to cultivate an artificial hatred of the so-called totalitarian States. A flood of reports, partly misrepresentations of the facts, partly pure invention, are let loose, the aim being to stir up public opinion against nations which have done nothing to harm the other nations, and have no desire to harm them, and which, indeed, have been for years the victims of harsh injustice.

When we defend ourselves against such agitators as Mr. Duff-Cooper, Mr. Eden or Mr. Ickes and the rest, our action is denounced as an encroachment on the sacred rights of the democracies. According to the way these agitators see things, they are entitled

to attack other nations and their governments, but no one is entitled to defend himself against such attacks. I need hardly assure you that as long as the German Reich continues to be a sovereign State, no English or American politician will be able to forbid our government to reply to such attacks, and the arms that we are forging are our guarantee for all time to come that we shall remain a sovereign State, our arms and our choice of friends.

Actually, the assertion that Germany is planning an attack on America could be disposed of with a mere laugh, and one would prefer to pass over in silence the incessant agitations of certain British warmongers. But we must not forget this:

1) Owing to the political structure of these democratic States it is possible that a few months later these warmongers might themselves be in the government.

2) We therefore owe it to the security of the Reich to bring home to the German people in good time the truth about these men.

The German Nation has no feeling of hatred towards England, America, or France. All it wants is peace and quiet. But these other nations are continually being stirred up to hatred of Germany and the German people by Jewish and non-Jewish agitators. And so, should the warmongers achieve what they are aiming at, our own people would be landed in a situation for which they would be psychologically quite unprepared and which they would thus fail to grasp.)

I therefore consider it necessary that from now on our propaganda and our press should always make a point of answering these attacks, and above all, bring them to the notice of the German people. The Ger-

man Nation must know who the men are who want to bring about a war by hook or by crook.

It is my conviction that these people are mistaken in their calculations, for when once National Socialist propaganda is devoted to the answering of the attacks, we shall succeed just as we succeeded inside Germany herself, in overcoming through the convincing power of our propaganda the Jewish world-enemy.

The nations will in a short time realize that National Socialist Germany wants no enmity with other nations, that all the assertions as to our intended attacks on other nations are lies, lies born of morbid hysteria, or of a mania for self-preservation on the part of certain politicians, but that in certain states these lies are being used by unscrupulous profiteers to salvage their own finances. That above all, international Jewry may hope in this way to satisfy its thirst for revenge and gain, but that on the other hand this is the grossest defamation which can be brought to bear on a great and peace-loving nation.

Never, for instance, have German soldiers fought on American soil unless it was in the cause of American independence and freedom. But American soldiers were brought to Europe to help strangle a great nation which was striving for its freedom. Germany did not attack America, but America attacked Germany, and, as the Committee of Investigation of the American House of Representatives concluded, from purely capitalist motives, without any other cause.

But there is one thing that every one should realize: These attempts cannot influence Germany in the slightest as to the way in which she settles her Jewish problem. On the contrary, in connection with the Jewish question I have this to say: It is a shameful

spectacle to see how the whole democratic world is oozing sympathy for the poor tormented Jewish people, but remains hardhearted and obdurate when it comes to helping them, which is surely, in view of its attitude, an obvious duty.

The arguments that are brought up as an excuse for not helping them actually, speak for us Germans and Italians, for this is what they say:

1) We, that is the democracies, are not in a position to take in the Jews; yet in these empires there are not even ten people to the square kilometre, while Germany, with her 135 inhabitants to the square kilometre, is supposed to have room for them.

2) They assure us: we cannot take them unless Germany is prepared to allow them a certain amount of capital to bring with them as immigrants.

For hundreds of years Germany was good enough to receive these elements, although they possessed nothing except infectious political and physical diseases. What they possess today, they have by far to the largest extent gained at the cost of the less astute German Nation by the most reprehensible manipulations.

Today we are merely paying this people what it deserves. When the German Nation was, thanks to the inflation, instigated and carried through by Jews, deprived of the entire savings which it had accumulated in years of honest work, when the rest of the world took away the German Nation's foreign investments, when we were divested of the whole of our colonial possessions, these philanthropic considerations evidently carried little noticeable weight with democratic statesmen. Today I can only assure these gentlemen that, thanks to the brutal education with

which the democracies favored us for fifteen years, we are completely hardened to all attacks of sentiment.

After more than 800,000 children of the nation have died of hunger and undernourishment at the close of the war, we witnessed almost one million head of milking cows being driven away from us in accordance with the cruel paragraphs of a dictate, which the humane democratic apostles of the world forced upon us as a peace treaty; we witnessed over one million German prisoners of war being retained in confinement for no reason at all for a whole year after the war was ended. We witnessed over one and a half million Germans being torn away from all that they possessed in the territories lying on our frontiers, and being whipped out with practically only what they wore on their backs. We had to endure having millions of our fellow countrymen torn from us without their consent and without their being afforded the slightest possibility of existence.

I could supplement these examples with dozens of the most cruel kind. For this reason we ask to be spared all sentimental talk. The German Nation does not wish its interests to be determined and controlled by any foreign nation. France to the French, England to the English, America to the Americans, and Germany to the Germans.

We are resolved to prevent the settlement in our country of a strange people, which was capable of snatching for itself all the leading positions in the land, and to oust it. For it is our will to educate our own Nation for these leading positions. We have hundreds of thousands of very intelligent children of peasants and of the working classes. We shall have them educated. In fact, we have already begun, and

we wish that one day they, and not the representatives of an alien race, may hold the leading positions in the state together with our educated classes.

{ Above all, German culture, as its name alone shows, is German and not Jewish, and therefore its management and care will be entrusted to members of our own Nation. If the rest of the world cries out with a hypocritical mien against this barbaric expulsion from Germany of such an irreplaceable and culturally eminently valuable element, we can only be astonished at this reaction. For how thankful they must be that we are releasing apostles of culture and placing them at the disposal of the rest of the world. In accordance with their own declarations they cannot find a single reason to excuse themselves for refusing to receive this most valuable race in their own countries. Nor can I see a reason why the members of this race should be imposed upon the German Nation, while in the states, which are so enthusiastic about these "splendid people", their settlement should suddenly be refused with every imaginable excuse. I think that the sooner this problem is solved the better, for Europe cannot settle down until the Jewish question is cleared up. It may very well be possible that sooner or later an agreement on this problem may be reached in Europe, even between those nations which otherwise do not so easily come together. The world has sufficient space for settlements, but we must once and for all get rid of the opinion that the Jewish race was only created by God for the purpose of being in a certain percentage a parasite living on the body and the productive work of other nations. The Jewish race will have to adapt itself to sound constructive activity as other nations do, or sooner or later it will succumb

to a crisis of an inconceivable magnitude.

One thing I should like to say on this day which may be memorable for others as well as for us Germans: In the course of my life I have very often been a prophet, and have usually been ridiculed for it. During the time of my struggle for power, it was in the first instance the Jewish race which only received my prophecies with laughter when I said that I would one day take over the leadership of the state, and with it that of the whole nation, and that I would then, among many other things, settle the Jewish problem. Their laughter was uproarious, but I think that for some time now they have been laughing on the other side of their face. Today, I will once more be a prophet: If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the bolshevization of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe, for the time when the non-Jewish nations had no propaganda is at an end. National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy have institutions which enable them, when necessary, to enlighten the world about the nature of a question of which many nations are instinctively conscious, but which they have not yet clearly thought out.

At the moment the Jews in certain countries may be fomenting hatred under the protection of a press, of the film, of wireless propaganda, of the theatre, of literature etc., all of which they control. If this nation should once more succeed in inciting the millions which compose the nations into a conflict which is utterly senseless and only serves Jewish interests, then there will be revealed the effectiveness of an en-

lightenment which has completely routed the Jews in Germany in the space of a few years. The nations are no longer willing to die on the battlefield so that this unstable international race may profiteer from a war or satisfy its Old Testament vengeance. The Jewish watchword "Workers of the world unite!" will be conquered by a higher realization, namely, "Workers of all classes and of all nations, recognize your common enemy!"

Among the outcries against Germany raised today in the so-called democracies is the assertion that National Socialist Germany is an anti-religious state.

I, therefore wish to make the following solemn declaration to the whole German Nation:

1) No one in Germany has hitherto been persecuted for his religious views, nor will any one be persecuted on that account.

2) The National Socialist State since January 30, 1933, has through its state organs placed the following sums accruing from public taxes at the disposal of both churches:

Financial year 1933	RM 130,000,000
Financial year 1934	RM 170,000,000
Financial year 1935	RM 250,000,000
Financial year 1936	RM 320,000,000
Financial year 1937	RM 400,000,000
Financial year 1938	RM 500,000,000

To the above sums must be added approximately RM 85,000,000 per annum of additional payments made by the various German States, and a further RM 7,000,000 per annum from the parishes and parish unions.

Incidentally, the churches are the biggest property

owners in the country after the state itself, the value of agricultural and forestry properties owned by them exceeds RM 10,000,000,000. Their income therefrom is probably more than RM 300,000,000 per annum. In addition to all this come numerous gifts, legacies, and, above all, the sums collected in church. Moreover, the church in the National Socialist State receives favorable treatment in many tax matters—gifts, legacies etc. to it being taxfree. It is therefore a piece of impertinence—to put it mildly—for foreign politicians of all people to talk about hostility to religion in the Third Reich.

If, however, the German churches really should regard this position as unbearable, the National Socialist State would be at any time prepared to make a clear separation between church and state, such as prevails in France, America, and other countries. I should only like to ask this question: What sums have France, England, or America paid to their churches through the State within the same period of time?

3) The National Socialist State has neither closed any church nor prevented any service from being held, nor has it ever influenced the form of a church service. It has neither interfered with the doctrinal teaching nor with the creed of any denomination.

But, the National Socialist State will ruthlessly make clear to those clergy who instead of being God's ministers regard it as their mission to speak insultingly of our present Reich, its organizations, or its leaders, that no one will tolerate a destruction of this State, and that clergy who place themselves beyond the pale of the law will be called to account before the law like any other German citizen. Let it be mentioned, however, that there are tens of thousands

of clergy of all Christian denominations who fulfill their ecclesiastical duties just as well or probably better than the political agitators, without ever coming into conflict with the laws of the state. The state considers their protection its task. The destruction of the enemies of the State is its duty.

4) The National Socialist State is neither prudish nor deceitful. There are, however, certain moral principles, adherence to which is in the interests of the biological health of a nation, and with which we tolerate no tampering. Pederasty and sexual offenses against children are punishable by law in this State, no matter who commits such crimes. When some five years ago certain heads of the National Socialist Party were found guilty of these crimes, they were shot. When other persons in public or private life, even priests, are guilty of such offenses, they are according to law sentenced to terms of imprisonment or hard labor. It is no concern of ours if priests break their other vows such as chastity etc. Not a single word about that has ever been published in our press.

For the rest, this State has only once interfered in the inner organization of the churches. This happened in 1933, when I myself attempted to unite the hopelessly disrupted Protestant regional churches in Germany into one large and powerful Evangelical Church. The attempt failed owing to the opposition of some of the regional bishops. In consequence, no further efforts were made. After all, it is not our task to defend the Protestant Church or even to strengthen it by forcible means in face of the opposition of its own supporters.

There can only be political reasons for other countries, and for certain democratic statesmen in particu-

lar taking up cudgels on behalf of individual German clergy, for these same statesmen were silent when hundreds of thousands of priests were butchered or burned in Russia. They were silent when in Spain tens of thousands of priests and nuns were massacred with bestial cruelty and burned alive. They could not and cannot deny these facts, but they were silent and are silent now. Meanwhile—I must mention this to the democratic statesmen—it was just because of such butchery that numerous National Socialist and Fascist volunteers placed themselves at the disposal of General Franco in order to help him in his efforts to prevent the bolshevik lust for blood from spreading over Europe and over the greater part of the civilized world. It was anxiety for European culture and for real civilization which compelled Germany to take sides in the fight carried on in National Spain against the bolshevik destroyer. It does not say much for the mentality predominant in various countries which cannot conceive of such a step being taken for purely unselfish reasons. However, National Socialist Germany sympathised with General Franco's uprising out of a sincere desire to see him succeed in delivering his country from the danger which at one time had threatened to engulf Germany itself.

Thus it cannot be sympathy or pity for God's persecuted ministers which mobilizes the interest of democratic citizens for individual German clergy in conflict with the law, but rather an interest in the enemy of the German State.

Let one thing, however, be borne in mind in this connection: We shall protect the German clergy in their capacity as God's ministers, but we shall destroy clergy who are the enemies of the German Reich. We

believe that in so doing we shall be able to prevent more easily a development of affairs which—as Spain has taught us—might all too easily call for defensive measures of inconceivable proportions.

I should, therefore, like to add the following explanation, based on these principles: It would appear that opinion is rife among certain circles in other countries that, if voiced loudly enough, expressions of sympathy for elements who are in conflict with the laws of the State might bring about an amelioration of their situation. Perchance they hope that by employing certain publicity methods they may be able in this way to exercise a terroristic influence on the German Government. This is a capital error. We find the final proof of their treasonable character when certain activities hostile to the state are supported by foreign countries. Mere opposition to regime has never yet been sufficient to secure the sympathy of democratic countries, nor does the persecution or punishment of one such political criminal. For was there ever a stronger opposition in Germany than that of National Socialism?

Never was an opposition suppressed, persecuted and hounded by such base means as were employed against the National Socialist Party in its opposition days. But to our honor we can maintain that we never for that reason enjoyed the sympathy, much less support, of any foreign power. It appears then that this support was intended only for those who were aiming at the destruction of the German Reich, and for this reason we shall see in this support in every single case merely a compelling reason for intensifying our measures.

In view of the dangers which threaten all around

us I appreciate it as a piece of great good fortune to have found, in Europe and outside it, States which, in the same way as the German Nation, are compelled to carry on a hard struggle to safeguard their existence. I refer to Italy and Japan.

In the Western World of today the Italians, as the descendants of the ancient Romans and we Germans, as the descendants of the Germanic peoples of those times are the oldest peoples, and our relations with each other reach farther back than do those between any other nations.

In my speech in the Palazzo Venezia on the occasion of my visit to Italy I pointed out that it was indeed a calamity that the mightiest civilized nation of the ancient world and the young nation of a new world in process of formation should, owing to the absence of a natural dividing line, and under the influence of many other circumstances, become involved in centuries of fruitless conflict.

But out of the contact of a thousand years there grew up a sense of community, and this community not only had its roots in countless racial ties, but it developed an immeasurable historical and cultural significance. The debt which the Germanic people owe to the ancient world as regards the organization of the State and consequently national development, as well as in the sphere of civilization in general, can not be estimated in detail, and is in its sum total immense.

Since then nearly two thousand years have passed. And now we too have made our own abundant contribution to civilization. But we have always maintained close spiritual ties with the Italian people and with its cultural and historical past. In the 19th century

there was a strikingly similar process of unification. The German peoples became united in the German Reich, and the Italian States were united in the Kingdom of Italy.

In the same year—1866—both nations were fated to take up arms simultaneously for the new form their State was to assume. Today we are experiencing this parallel development for the second time.

A man of outstanding historic importance was the first to bring a new idea to oppose the democratic notions which had become barren in this people, and to carry this idea to victory within a few years. It is hard to estimate the significance of Fascism for Italy.

What Fascism has done for the preservation of civilization is as yet incalculable. Who can stroll through Rome or Florence without being moved at the thought of the fate that all these unique documents of human art and civilization would have suffered if Mussolini and his Fascist movement had not succeeded in saving Italy from Bolshevism.

Germany was faced with the same danger. Here National Socialism came miraculously to the rescue. In the imagination of countless individuals of every race the belief in a new renaissance in our day is linked with these two States. The solidarity of these two regimes is therefore more than a matter of egoistic expediency.

On this solidarity is founded the salvation of Europe from its threatened destruction by Bolshevism. For this reason Germany stood by Italy when she fought her heroic struggle for her vital rights in Abyssinia. In 1938 Fascist Italy re-paid us abundantly for this act of friendship. Let no one in the world make any mistake as to the resolve which National Socialist

Germany has made as far as this friend is concerned.

It can only serve the cause of peace if it is quite clearly understood that a war waged against the Italy of today will, once it is launched and regardless of its motives, call Germany to the side of her friend.

Above all let no one be ill-advised by those isolated bourgeois weaklings who vegetate in every country and who cannot understand that in the life of nations it is not necessarily cowardice but also courage and honor that may prompt wisdom.

As regards National Socialist Germany, she is well aware of the fate that awaits her if ever an international power, whatever its motive, should succeed in overcoming Fascist Italy. We realize the consequences which would follow upon such an event and face them unflinchingly. The fate of Prussia in 1805 and 1806 will not be repeated a second time. In German history weaklings like the advisors of the King of Prussia in 1805 will not be asked their opinion in the Germany of today. The National Socialist State realizes the danger and is determined to take all steps to counteract it.

I know too that not only our own defense forces, but also Italy's military power are equal to the severest military requirements. Just as it is impossible to judge the present German army by the standards of the army of the German Bund of, say 1848, so it is likewise impossible for any evaluation of modern Fascist Italy to be made by the standards of the days when the Italian State was yet united.

Only a hysterical, unteachable, tactless and extremely malicious press can forget in so short a time that only a few years ago it made a thorough fool of itself with its prophecies as to the probable outcome

of the Italian campaign in Abyssinia. And it is not one whit better now in its judgement of Franco's national forces in the Spanish campaign.

Men make history, but they also forge the instruments which are suited to the forming of history, and above all, they give them spirit. Great men, however, are themselves merely the strongest, most concentrated expression of a nation. National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy are strong enough to safeguard peace against everyone, and to end resolutely and successfully any conflict which irresponsible elements lightly start.

This does not mean that we desire war, as is asserted in the irresponsible press day by day, it simply means that we

1. well understand that other nations too desire to assure themselves that share of riches of the world, which by virtue of their numbers, their courage and their value is their due, and that we

2. in recognition of these rights are determined to give common support to common interests. Above all, however, that we shall never under any circumstances yield to any threats amounting to extortion.

Thus our relationship with Japan is determined by the recognition of the need to stem, as we are determined to do, the tide of the threatened bolshevization of a world gone blind with all the resolution at our command. The Anti-Comintern-Pact will perhaps one day become the crystallization point of a group of powers whose ultimate aim is none other than to eliminate the menace to the peace and culture of the world instigated by a satanic apparition.

The Japanese Nation which in the last two years has set us so many examples of glorious heroism is

undoubtedly fighting in the service of civilization at the other side of the world. Her collapse would not benefit the civilized nations of Europe or of other parts of the world, but would only lead to the certain triumph of Bolshevism in the Far East. Apart from international Jewry which is desirous of this development, no people in the world can wish to see this take place.

The tremendous efforts made last year ultimately attained their end by peaceful means and we would add to our thanks to Mussolini our unreserved expression of gratitude to the two other statesmen who during the critical hours attached greater value to peace than to the preservation of an injustice.

Germany has no territorial demands against England and France apart from that for the return of our colonies. While the solution of this question would contribute greatly to the pacification of the world, it is in no sense a problem which could cause a war. If there is any tension in Europe today, it is primarily due to the irresponsible activity of an unscrupulous press which scarcely permits a day to go by without disturbing the peace of mankind through alarming news which is as stupid as it is mendacious.

The efforts of various organs to poison the mind of the world in this connection must be regarded as nothing short of criminal. Recently endeavors have been made to place broadcasting also in the service of this international campaign of hate. With regard to this I wish to make the following warning public:

If the broadcasts sent from certain countries to Germany do not cease, we will soon answer them. It is to be hoped that the statesmen of these countries will

not then come to us within a short period of time with the urgent request for a return to normal conditions. For I believe as I always have done that our work of enlightenment will be more effective than the campaign of lies of those Jews who stir up hatred between the peoples.

Announcements by American film companies that they intend to produce Anti-Nazi, that is Anti-German films, can but induce us to produce anti-Semitic films in Germany. Here, too, our opponents should not permit themselves any delusions as to the effectiveness of what we can do.

There will be very many states and peoples who will show great understanding for supplementary instruction of this kind on such an important subject. We believe that if the Jewish international campaign of hatred by press and propaganda could be checked, good understanding could very quickly be established between the peoples. It is only such elements that hope steadfastly for a war. I however believe in a long peace. For in what way do the interests of England and Germany for example conflict? I have stated over and over again that there is no German and above all, no National Socialist, who even in his most secret thoughts has the intention of causing the British Empire any kind of difficulties. From England, too, the voices of men who think reasonably and calmly express a similar attitude with regard to Germany. It would be a blessing for the whole world if mutual confidence and co-operation could be established between the two peoples. The same is true of our relations with France. We have just celebrated the fifth anniversary of the conclusion of our non-aggression pact with Poland. There can scarcely be

any difference of opinion today among the true friends of peace with regard to the value of this agreement. One only needs to ask oneself what might have happened to Europe if this agreement which brought such relief had not been entered into five years ago.

In signing it the great Polish Marshal and Patriot rendered his people just as great a service as the Leaders of the National Socialist State rendered the German people. During the troubled months of the past year the friendship between Germany and Poland was one of the reassuring factors in the political life of Europe.

Our relations with Hungary are based on a long and well-proven friendship on common interests and on traditional mutual esteem. Germany has gladly undertaken to contribute to the redressing of the wrong inflicted on that country.

Yugoslavia is a state which has increasingly attracted the attention of our people since the War. The high regard which the German soldiers then felt for these brave people has since been deepened and has developed into genuine friendship. Our economic relations with this country are undergoing constant development and expansion just as is the case with the friendly countries of Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania and Turkey.

The essential reason for this is to be found in the natural conditions which make it possible for these countries and Germany to complement each others' economic systems. Germany is happy today in the possession of peaceful frontiers in the West, South and North.

Our relations with the Western and Northern States, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway,

Sweden, Finland and the Baltic States, become all the more satisfactory with the increasing tendency in these countries to turn away from certain articles of the Covenant of the League of Nations which involved danger of war. No country appreciates better than Germany the value of genuinely friendly and neutral States on its frontiers. May Czechoslovakia, too, succeed in re-establishing internal order in a manner which will exclude any possibility of a relapse into the tendencies of the former President, Dr. Benes.

The addition of Hungary and Manchukuo to the Anti-Comintern Pact is a welcome symptom of the consolidation of world-wide resistance to the Jewish international Bolshevik threat to the peoples of the world.

The relations of the German Reich with the countries of South America are satisfactory and economic relations with them continue to expand. Our relations with the United States are suffering from a campaign of defamation carried on to serve obvious political and financial interests which under the pretence that Germany threatens American independence and freedom is endeavoring to mobilize the hatred of an entire continent against the European States which are nationally governed.

We all believe, however, that this does not reflect the will of the millions of American citizens who despite all that is said to the contrary by a gigantic Jewish capitalistic propaganda through the press, the radio and the films, cannot fail to realize that there is not one word of truth in all these assertions.

Germany wishes to live in peace and on friendly terms with all countries, including America. Germany

refrains from any intervention in American affairs and likewise decisively repudiates any American intervention in German affairs.

The question, for instance, as to whether Germany maintains economic relations and does business with the countries of South and Central America concerns nobody but them and ourselves. Germany, at any rate, is a great and sovereign country and is not subject to the supervision of American politicians. Quite apart from that, however, I feel that all States today have so many domestic problems to solve that it would be a piece of good fortune for the nations if responsible statesmen were to confine their attention to their own problems.

As far as Germany is concerned, I know from my own experience, that the demands made by the work to be tackled here are so great as almost to exceed the powers of wisdom and energy at the disposal of one man. Speaking in the names, both of myself and of all my collaborators, I can therefore assure you that we feel that our life's work consists exclusively in the care and maintenance of our own people and Reich, both of which can look back upon a glorious history that is more than two thousand years old.

Gentlemen, as I conclude my statement to you tonight, I look back once more over the years of struggle and fulfillment which lie behind us. For most of us they represent the entire meaning and content of our existence.

We know that nothing greater can now be granted to our people and consequently to ourselves. We have succeeded without bloodshed in finally constituting the great Reich of our German people. Nevertheless,

we will not forget that this process, too, involved painful sacrifices for many. We were forced to put an end to many traditions which people had come to love and to many dear memories and symbols. Provinces were wiped off the map, their flags called in and their traditions suffered a loss in importance.

We may all, however, find comfort in the fact that no generation in our history which has worked for the advancement of Germany has been spared similar painful emotions. Ever since the first German dukes endeavored to bring the primitive tribes together into larger units, this work has necessarily been carried on at the expense of well-loved institutions, dear memories, manly obligations of loyalty and so forth. This process lasted nearly two thousand years until the scattered tribes became a people and the countless provinces and states became a Reich.

We may now regard this process of growth of the German Nation as virtually completed. The greater German Reich now embodies our peoples' entire struggle for existence over two thousand years. All streams of German blood flow into the Reich and there are united in it all past traditions, their symbols and standards, and above all, the great men of whom Germans of past periods had reason to be proud.

For in whatever political camp they were in their own day, the brave dukes and great kings, the generals and powerful emperors, and the brilliant minds and heroes of the past all were but the instruments of Providence in the process of development of a nation. As we include them in this great Reich in grateful reverence, the wealth of German history is revealed in all its glory. Let us thank Almighty God that he has granted to our generation and to us the great blessing of experiencing this period of history and this hour.